462 Consequently the men folk, even when they do not
461 cultivate their fields themselves, are reasonably certain, except in the case of famine, to find sufficient food to sustain their lives and this gives their activity a peculiar character. Their activities may be directed towards improving their situation, but their existence does not depend on them : if necessary, they will wait a long time and without impatience for expected grants from the great.

444 You see Barundi who buy goods on one market and sell them on another where those goods are dearer. You see also Barundi who sell agricultural wares on one market, and with the money buy a greater amount of the same wares on a market where it is cheaper. Result, a greater amount of wares and of money. It is a curious adaptation of the species of speculation to an old non-monetary economic system.

The evolution in progress

178 Most chiefs have been converted and have accord-
177 ingly adopted monogamy : the estate organization based on polygamy must consequently be modified. Belgian administration has deliberately simplified native political methods and considerably reduced its personnel. The numberless services demanded by local leaders have been abolished : some corvées are still enforced, the abolition of others has been made good by allowing to the chiefs a percentage of the taxes paid by their subjects. Considerably fewer followers are attached to the chiefs : already the *utore*[1/1] have disappeared and the extension of the clerk (*karani*)-system is making the *bagendanyi*[2/1] obsolete. Markets are more and more numerous and
[436] money has a circulation wider every day because this circulation is necessary if taxes are to be paid. Purely commercial exchanges will eliminate barional ex-

[P. 16 (A)]

1/1 [a type of vassal — Analyst]

2/1 [messenger attendant — Analyst]

changes completely. Speculation is gaining ground. Certain cultures are spreading rapidly (cassava, which grows all the year round and so excludes the threat of famine ; coffee which yields a profit in cash, and helps to pay the tax-collector).

Finally, some house-groups have appeared of a type, closer perhaps to town than to village, in the neighbourhood of *bomas* (colonial administration centres) or markets. Their inhabitants it is true are mostly foreigners : Belgian officials, European traders (Greeks), Hindus and Arabs, *baswaHili* (Islamized negroes). It remains however that they are an entirely new feature in a country with such a widely dispersed population.

Conclusions

I thought I could draw your attention to some details of the curious Urundi organization : a dense population, widely dispersed over the cultivable and habitable land according to the geographic possibilities, without any orientation centres (the few habitations of the chiefs cannot be said to produce anything like demographic concentration) ; the small part played by neighbourhood relations, the predominance of intricate, but personal ties, creating man-to-man dependance, or in other words the primacy of the vertical over the horizontal relationships.

Such an organization was possible in a country almost completely closed to foreign influence, without either markets or money, with a hierarchical structure and must be related to conditions both ethnographical and geographical. This organization is giving way under the influence of European administration, of the development of trade, and of a new economy based more and more upon monetary transactions.

[p. 16 (8)]

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drawn to the beauty of the fair stranger. The king was notified. She was the girl he had been waiting for. As a reward, the wagtail was granted a permanent privilege to its species called ubulenga nzira, which included immunity and a sort of tithe to be levied upon the crops throughout the realm.

near the hill of Lwoga, not far from Nyanza, the present capital.

563 The Bagessera regard themselves as the most important Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan, and claim to be the most ancient inhabitants of Ruanda. According to them, they were the first masters of the land. /462/

Bloody Bondage Imposed on Some Families

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178 The Bakono, Banyabyinshi, and Bakunzi of the Kinyaga were for a long time the victims of this /type of bondage/.

Let us add, however, that the brutality and cruelty characteristic of those inhuman and now suppressed customs had lost some of their primitive harshness in the course of the last two reigns.

1. The expiatory debt to which the Bakono were bound for having fought Ruganzu II had been changed altogether.

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178 Upon the accession of a new king to the throne, the Bakono had to send one or two of their people to the capital, and so did another clan which had formerly belonged to the Banyabyinshi group, so often mentioned at the beginning of the great king's reign.

At court, instead of having their throats slit as was formerly done, those people were merely sprinkled with lustral water (chalk water) and driven for an instant into the hut of the spirits as though being offered in sacrifice to them. There the matter rested. Other chroniclers state that it was customary to beat them a few times with

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sticks so that the custom should not altogether lose its penal character.

2: Another improvement over the past has been the complete suppression during the two preceding reigns of the odious custom which prompted each new prince when he ascended the throne to send his troops into the Russokovu, between the Bugamba and Kingogo, to make war and receive their baptism of fire.

This was called "to make the king's spear drink blood" (guhir' icchumu ry' umwami).

Just as the Banyarwanda have the habit of leading their herds to the watering hole (guhir' inka) at the /463/ beginning of the day, a traditional custom also made it necessary for the king to make his spear drink blood (kunywesh' amarasso icchumu ry' umwami) upon his accession to the throne.

After killing some unfortunate people, the victorious warriors returned home.

The beginning of a reign could not be augured more auspiciously.

773 Ruganzu II Ndori was the first to launch such an expedition, which later became traditional.

He did this to punish the killers of his father. According to one version, which has already been cited (1), old King Ndahiro was

1. Cf. Book III, Histoire du règne de Ruganzu II, /History of Ruganzu II's Reign/ /not translated/.

killed at Russokovo, by the Bakongoro (a segment of the great Banyabyinshi faction) who had rebelled against him and whom he had set out to subjugate.

The expedition ended in disaster. Ndahiro, so the tradition adds, died there along with many of his followers. The rebels seized the king's drums and had them burned. Only the Kalinga, or palladium of the realm, escaped the conquerors. This is why the [103] place where the defeat took place has been known since by the name

773 [103] of Rubi rw'inyundo, meaning "the evil of the hammer," to recall that the weapons wrought by the blacksmiths' hammers were fatal there to Ndahiro and his warriors (2).

2. There are numerous variations on this historical theme. The inhabitants of the Bugamba insist that Ruganzu II was smoked out of Kirengo Cave by the Banyabyinshi. Hence the custom, they say, of leading two of the inhabitants of the land to the capital, where they were beaten, in memory of and punishment for this misdeed. Others believe that it was Chyilima-Rugwe who was fatally injured by the Bakongoro and who, pursued by his enemies, came to die near Gasseke, where his skeleton was later found. These tragic circumstances would explain the 15 annual days of mourning in June, if the disaster was such as the chroniclers lead us to suppose.

● 178 643 3. Fortunate, too, is the abolition of the custom which prompte the young king to kill one of his maternal uncles (nyirarume) with his own hands, an act which was political as well as /464/ superstitious, and which often followed close on the murder of the princes who were the monarch's relatives by marriage.

The prosperity of the realm was believed to depend on the fulfillment of cruel customs.

The abolition of these barbarous practices would be wholly to the credit of the Banyarwanda were it not for the fact that in 1895, at the time when Mibambge-Rutalindwa was deposed, the victorious Bega faction then in power committed innumerable atrocities toward

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643 the vanquished that the natives sometimes relate to each other secretly and fearfully in the evening by the fire.

4. The best known of those customs is the punishment of the
178 Bachuku and Bayumbo, who are from Bukunzi land, linked to the
643 Kinyaga province.
782 The story of the misdeed which gave rise to this penalty is told in Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II /The History of the Reign of Ruganzu II/ /Book III, not translated/.

Because the bull in one of the great king's herds had been killed, the king himself proceeded to take a blazing revenge there and then by having two young men and two young women killed in the valley called Nyakafunzo.

"My spear," cried the angered monarch, "I shall henceforth leave it among you so that you may give it children. At every change of reign, you shall surrender a young man and a young woman to expiate your misdeed." The royal envoys, therefore, would appear whenever a new king succeeded to the throne and claim their human tribute.

The young man was killed on the spot at Nyakafunzo. A dagger was plunged into his armpit. The blood was gathered into a wooden jar which was then taken into enemy country in accordance with directives from the capital.

The shedding of this cursed blood guaranteed the defeat of those inhabitants who had offended the king /465/ or who were at war with him. The corpse of the unfortunate one was left on the spot, where the hyenas soon disposed of it.... As for the young woman who had to be supplied by the Bachuku, it was agreed that she should be chosen among mothers who were suckling a baby girl. Her lot was less fearsome. She was given in marriage to the Bumbogo, where she had to attend to the cultivation of sorghum and eleusine, whose "first fruits" were taken to court for the great annual festival celebrated there at that time. As a further contribution to this custom, the Bachuku also supplied the flour mill used to grind the sorghum and eleusine.

An earthen jug and the large household spoon, or spatula, (umwuko), used to make bread (umutsima) were sent along with the millstones.

178 643 782 The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakunzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

661 644 In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

563 644 554 565 The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

644 We have seen that in order to preserve the supernatural
645 properties of the beverage (igihango) the candidates were forbidden to smoke, drink, or spit. What were they to do in order to avoid the disastrous effects that the test poison, according to popular belief, might have upon their health?

Accustomed as primitives are to the strangest and most incredible things, the Banyarwanda believed that in order to avert any danger in this connection, all they had to do was to commit a shameful act immediately.

As a result of this belief and in the thought that they were being helpful to the neophytes, their relatives led them away, outside the clan, along with some friends. They lay in wait and seized
[839] a young man or a young girl, depending on the sex of the candidate, and did violence to the young person.

It must be added that the Blacks, knowing the distaste of
[178] Europeans for such sport, have not dared to fulfill the last part of the program since the arrival of the Whites.

II. Dangers to Which Dignitaries, Employees, and Favorites at Court Were Exposed at All Times

644 It may be said that until recent years the secret of certain
661 customs and traditions had been well preserved, for fear of the effects of the test poison and for fear of the king, who would not hesitate to punish delinquents at the first sign of indiscretion. It is equally true that until our time the majority of servants /473/ and underlings lived under the risk and perpetual threat of a violent death which might claim them at any moment. The monarch, who did not rely exclusively on the effectiveness of the test poison and probably had very good reasons not to do so, unfortunately made use quite often of his prerogatives as sovereign and his discretionary power over all things to apply extravagant punishments. Nothing counted in his eyes except his own interests, his whims and his passions. He frequently gave free rein to the latter. A mere suspicion or even less was sufficient to cause the merciless death of an unfortunate individual.

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824 Igisura belongs to the Urticaceae family.

This plant grows to a height of about 1.50 meters. Sufferers from yaws drink its juice as a remedy. They must be careful not to take too heavy a dose, so as not to risk a serious intoxication.

It is rumored that ill-disposed people have used one or another of those plants, and in particular the mutambasha, or rat poison, to wreak their vengeance and do away with their enemies.

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609 Small packets of herbs were found in the possession of people suspected of practicing the poisoner's vocation.

For what purpose had those plants been gathered? Perhaps the sorcerer had tried to lend them a harmfulness which of themselves they did not possess. Backbiters in the land insist that once at least royal hands mixed those allegedly noxious substances into milk, honey, and butter intended for Europeans who were passing through. The said person achieved no results, however, and this led him /or her/ to say that it was impossible to get rid of the Whites, that poisons, spells, and bewitchment had no hold over them. We are inclined to believe that in this case charms and philters were involved rather than noxious substances.

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178 It is said that the penultimate king of the Uswi, Gasusuro, one of the regular suppliers of such products, replied to the court envoys one fine day when they came to fetch the goods that henceforth he would not supply them, that he was through with all poisons. It is also quite /489/ possible that his answer was dictated by the fear of being caught practicing this vocation. Let us add for the sake of truthfulness that the days are long since past when such things could be said or plotted against Europeans (1).

1. The Blacks live in the almost constant fear of bewitchment and poisoning.

[761] Rickets, tuberculosis, and sudden or strange deaths, especially when the corpse swells up immediately, could have no other cause in their opinion.

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seen that the names of the
first kings were pure fantasy.
The chronological order of
several others is lacking,
and the chroniclers do not agree
on the affiliation of these princes.

Kaganza hill, not far from Musenyi, is thought to have been the scene of the death of Nyiramavugo, mother of Lwogera-Mutara.

When her hair began to turn white she refused to drink /531/ the traditional poison that was to bring her life to a close. King Lwogera-Mutara referred the matter to his maternal uncle, Nyamushanja, who had her strangled. She was mummified at Musenyi and buried on the Kayenzi plateau.

3. Watching of the Cemeteries and the Honors Rendered to the Spirits of the Royal Dead

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a. Watching of the royal cemeteries. Entrance to the cemeteries was strictly forbidden to laymen, who could not even come near them, as if their presence were a defilement or a profanation.

Not so long ago, at Rutare the keepers in charge of watching over the royal tombs still found it convenient to pillage and even kill the travelers who had the misfortune to wander into their neighborhood.

The functions of the keepers of royal cemeteries are almost invariably exercised by members of the Abiru or Abatsobe tribe, with whom they are identified. In summer when the tall grasses are set afire, they must see to it that the flames do not reach the restricted enclosures.

In principle it is strictly forbidden to cut wood there, and one may never go in with an axe.

[178] The keepers and the neighbors seem to have eased up a little on this rule over the last few years. Since the dead wood they were permitted to use no longer met their needs, they began to attack the

767 trees and green branches. Human conscience can adapt itself to any-
778 thing. The keepers, who get their share, pretend to see nothing.
178 As a result, relatives and friends take full advantage of their tacit permission and make inconspicuous forays into the groves.

b. General honors paid to the spirits of the royal dead.

769 The dead are neither forgotten nor forsaken. Superstitious fear plays its part in the cult of the dead. /532/ The Blacks' fear of the dead recalls them constantly to the remembrance of the living (1). From

> 1. The muzimu retains "the passions, tastes, inclinations, and grudges that characterized it during the material life span of the individual whose existence it perpetuates spiritually after death." (Maurice Delafosse.) To the natives, this belief explains and justifies the cult of spirits.

time to time and in important circumstances, when real or imagined calamities threaten, the drums are beaten in their honor.

Huts (indaro) of varying size are raised on their graves, and sacrifices performed in them to pacify and ingratiate their spirits.

At certain times, young bulls are sent from the capital and immolated by the sacrificers with pomp and solemnity.

The things most readily sent are small earthenware vessels, rounded, rather graceful, (uruherezo, imperezo), filled with banana wine, which the keepers offer as a libation to the dead kings in order to win their support.

[778] Similar sacrifices were, and still are, performed occasionally at the sites of numerous former royal dwellings: at Lwamaraba near the Kabgayi mission, at Mwurire near the Savé mission, at Lussagara near Nyaluhengeri, in honor of Lwabugiri, Lwogera, and another Mutara, a son of Ruganzu II, to mention only a few (2). /533/

563 191 entirely different. In fact, with a little practice, one can recognize members of the herdsman aristocracy by their pronunciation. This leads one to believe that the pronunciation of the Batutsi has special phonetic characteristics which may throw light on their former idiom.

563 Bahutu. The difference between the Batutsi and their subjects is so great that by comparison all local differences in individual provinces disappear, and the country seems a homogeneous whole. The herdsmen in the minority are the most conspicuous because of their privileged position. They are closely united and give the entire country its homogeneous stamp.

Numerically the Batwa are so weak and so little in evidence that even in the west where there are more of them, they are not conspicuous. Also local differences are not apparent. Consequently territorial differentiation in the country is manifest chiefly in the second population element, the Bahutu farmers.

563 178 They make up the conservative element which supports the entire edifice of the state and ensures the stability of the established order. However, they have little capability for independently organizing large states. They do, however, maintain the established forms and even preserve the traditions of a vanquished political organization. Indeed, traces of former conditions are found where individual provinces have given up their independent political existence and have been absorbed into a highly centralized state. [184] The Bahutu of the individual provinces show important differences and are themselves aware of these. Thus, when they speak of the [101] Bagoye, Balera, and Banyanduga, they always mean the Bahutu. It is only in Kissaka that the term Banyakissaka stands for the inhabitants in general, and here memories of the state that united Bahutu and Batutsi are still very much alive. We must also not [101] overlook the fact that the Bahutu of Bgisha in the southern part of Rutshuru call themselves Barundu or Barondo. For this reason it seems to me that the names of the countries of Urundi and Ruanda should be associated with the Bahutu substratum living there.

563 142 [129] The Bahutu are essentially more heterogeneous than the Batutsi, although throughout the country they have many common traits. They are strikingly different from the herdsman aristocracy

000 The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

287 Preparation of Barkcloth. The making of barkcloth (mpuzu) seems to be falling off in Ruanda. For example, I had only one [178] occasion in Ruasa to see a piece of barkcloth, and this was made into a bag. Because of the large number of barkcloth beaters which were offered me for sale in Ruasa, I am forced to conclude that this branch of native industry is dying out, at least in Mulera.

In Nduga where the population is considerably poorer, one sees a great deal of barkcloth, but since it is worn in the same manner as expensive clothing made of skins, one might assume that in this locality it is at present only a substitute for skins. There are, however, reasons for assuming that the original clothing was made of barkcloth. In Mulera in the area of the Ruasa Mission it was observed that with the increase of wealth barkcloth was replaced by clothing of skins.

The bark of a species of fig is soaked in water, laid on a tree trunk, and beaten out thin with a hammer. The hammers [183] (imango) have two shapes. One looks like a cylinder with circular grooves on the end used for beating, and it has a tapered handle. The other kind is a conical beater which, as in the case of the axes and hoes, is fastened to a handle. Here, too, the beating surface is grooved but in crisscross fashion.

In Ruanda the barkcloth is very crude and cannot be compared to that of Kiziba.

281 [159] Dressing Skins. Preparing a cow hide for an article of clothing is a laborious task. The skin must be made soft and pliable; otherwise it is useless.

The skin stripped off the animal is first of all dried in the sun and then soaked in water. When it has become soft, it is hung up to allow the water to drip off. It is then stretched on the ground with the fur side downward, held with small wooden pegs which are stuck through the edge of the skin and, after the skin is stretched, are driven into the ground with a stone. Then the skin is cleaned with a scraper (mbaro). This process is known as kuhara. The first layer that is removed is called imishishwa; the second, imiharamuro; the third, inkuru. After that the pierced edge is

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance,
627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in,
428 overrides his decision, and apportions his estate in a way that seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him, and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan
423 property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told, is called kutshura hasi.

614 At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy, it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their
651 taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter then participate in the tax payments which are made in common. Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organization disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters in a household who have no guardian after the death of their father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

The protection of female clan members does not extend to
614 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan
591 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This
768 happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house. The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The
674 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group,
178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by anyone. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves better organization. This is the principal means by which the unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

614 671 178 finds protection even outside the clan, which formerly was not possible.

614 Ruanda Clans. We have already listed the clans of Ruanda in Chapter 2 [not translated]. However, in view of the significance which the distribution of individual clans in the various provinces has for the history of Ruanda settlements, the list must be supplemented by further data. Here we shall also give the names of the provinces in which the individual clans were observed. (Chart on following pages)

It is said that the Baanzira clan is not represented in Kissaka, but the name is familiar, and strangely enough, it is used by the women in vows. When they wish to affirm something very positively, they say: "Aha Baanzira batshu."

Father Schumacher (1) uses the designation "Base" or "Abase"

1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 896.

for the Bagessera and Bazigaba who play a special role in the Ryangombe cult.

628 614 [237] Blood Revenge. Clans practice blood vengeance (kuhora) for their members. If an outsider kills or wounds a clan member, his fellow members take revenge on the members of the criminal's clan.

The clan's revenge, however, is not always a simple settlement on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. In Kissaka, for example, the people are satisfied if they kill a member of the murderer's clan, whereas in Mulera the vengeance is always greater than the crime. The severity of the vengeance by the injured clan depends on the number of its able-bodied men. The powerful and spirited clan of the Barashi who are settled in Mulera on Muhawura is aware of its strength and takes bitter revenge. For a murdered clansman, the Barashi kill six to eight men from the murderer's clan. The other less powerful Mulera clans content themselves with three or four. The Batutsi, on the other hand, demand as many as ten to twelve heads. The same number is exacted by the greatly feared Batwa clans.

614 as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other,
262 chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different elements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

563 The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do
262 not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The
178 Mututsi, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

262 The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well
609 as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the
[71] Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J.M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

572 Umugore wawe amushigisha nzoga uta hali, iki kihanga utikikwiche.
608 (If) woman yours will refuse him banana beer (when) you are absent, this vow will not kill you.

After this curse he hands the knife to the second witness who rubs the iron against the palm of his hand and repeats the curse. Then the two witnesses rise, lift their bent arms to the level of their eyes, and then slap their knees with the words: "Ndateranya sinkiza (I unite, I protect not)." In reply the two blood brothers lie down on the floor and embrace. Then they are covered with a mat, whereupon one of the witnesses hits the mat twice with a stick and says: "Ndateranya, sinkiza, zubanda (I unite, I protect not, rabble)." The blood brothers reply to this by hitting each other. Later, assisting one another, they rise to a crouching position. This ceremony means that blood brothers also fight with one another, but this is their own affair which they must settle among themselves in secret (under the mat). In the outside world blood brothers may only support one another.

572 After this ceremony they exchange presents. One of the blood
608 brothers takes his present, usually a hoe, and hands it to his new
431 friend with the words: "End'isuka, nkukye ku kirago (accept the hoe, may it help you to rise from the mat)." The other takes his present, hands it to the first one, and repeats the same words. Then they both arise, and each one gives his witness an arm ring as a present.

572 Through this ceremony the blood brother (munywana) seems to
608 attain a sort of personal membership in the clan of the other blood
614 brother without resigning from his own clan. This is confirmed
628 by the fact that blood brotherhood is not entered into by members of the same clan. I occasionally heard that formerly, in the indeterminable "olden times," blood revenge was practiced for blood brothers as it was for clansmen.

572 It seems that blood brotherhood has lost a great deal of its
609 significance. This may be considered a result of state organiza-
614 tion which has caused a progressive deterioration of clan organiza-
178 tion. This process, however, has not just come about in very recent times, as may be gathered from a proverb in Ruanda which [245] says: "umwuzulu uluta umunywano (friendship is better than blood brotherhood)." In Ruanda we may mention two facts in favor

572 608 614 178 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship between blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 608 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 608 582 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously observed. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 608 837 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 608 563 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the Batwa.

614 621 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical with the number of women. It is very important to note that the head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

661 wisdom consists in not letting oneself be governed too much by
565 caprice and not becoming relatively the worst tyrant.

Even now when there is peace in the land, petty wars among
569 Musinga's bagaragu and brawls among the bagaragu of the bagaragu
642 of the king are by no means rare, but they occur chiefly in the border regions where the power of the king is not so strongly felt. At the time of my visit, for example, Lukara was fighting with Luhanga in Mulera. In cases like this it often happens that the king is unable to find a man who would not be too afraid to manage and tax the warlike farmers if they were assigned to him. In this way the Bahutu gain their independence and can be subjugated anew only by a punitive expedition.

[264] Under these circumstances, petty internal strife is a natural function of the state and does not result merely in brutality and devastation. In this way, even though it is uneconomical, poor administrators are weeded out, and the power of the strong is curtailed. This principle may at first glance seem paradoxical, but it corresponds very well to the facts. When it comes to the formation of a state under unlimited rule which on principle admits no protest, limitations must arise spontaneously if large masses of people are to live together.

661 The situation changes, however, the moment there is pacifi-
642 cation and the country is opened up and organized by Europeans.
178 The old, natural, albeit uneconomical forms which, after all,
648 regulated conditions are now done away with by force of arms and the rulers, weakened by emigration, overcome. On the other hand, the opening up of export trade creates countless possibilities for exploiting subjects in a hitherto unknown way. The situation of the natives is getting worse, for the new judicial norms, despite their humane phraseology, are less protection to them than the old regulations upon which the organization of the state was built. In Kissaka one can see many natives from Ussuwi who have taken refuge there from the blessings of humane European civilization. Under these new conditions, the only weapon in the hands of the subjects is economic injury to the chief, and this can be achieved by the emigration of the labor force.

The situation of the natives is worst of all where Europeans have put a stop to freedom of movement in order to make police

661 642 178 648 control easier. The moment this happens the native no longer has any protection against his chief. As a result, the need for serious intervention by the European administration becomes an urgent necessity. With increased possibilities of exploitation certain norms must now be set up which will protect the interests of the common man and permit him some freedom, in other words, give him back everything that was formerly guaranteed him by means of a less perfect, less compact and oppressive social organization and without any kind of pact. Under these conditions, further intervention by the European administration becomes a necessity, because there is as yet no guarantee that the new order will do more than contribute to a "more complete exploitation of the lazy Negro" and perhaps also to a decline in the population.

642 64 178 By comparing conditions in Ndorwa, Mulera, Bugoye, and Nduga, we can easily determine the direction in which conditions have developed in Ruanda.

In Ndorwa we find independent clans living apart from one another.

[265] In Mulera the clans have been subjugated by the king and pay taxes. The Batutsi have driven the natives from some of the hills and permit homeless members of disrupted clans to settle there. These dregs must support their masters and perform compulsory services for the protection they get. These are the new communities which really should be spoken of as analogous to large estates. Some of the clan elders, such as Bishingwe, father of Lukara, are joining the conquerors and are supported by them. With this support they settle immigrants on the uncultivated land, and the latter must perform compulsory services, just as they do for the Batutsi.

In Bugoye the distinction between conquerors and peasant aristocracy is gradually being effaced and along with it the difference between impoverished clan members and immigrants who are domiciled on the remaining free land by the clan elder and become his bondsmen. In Bugoye this process is not yet completed.

The Bambari clan have already put their buletwa to work in the field of the chief, who is also a Mumbari and who must be regarded as a former clan elder. Here the land is already regarded as his property, as land granted by the king.

642 However, the Bagwabiro, an impoverished Batutsi clan, main-
614 tain that the king gave them the bush knife (muhoro) for Bugoye.
178 They occupied large areas, defended them, in some parts successfully, against the encroaching self-contained clans, and settled them with exiles, refugees, and vagabonds, who make up the biletwa of the Bagwabiro. Here the community headmen are officials of the king, which is in contrast to the situation among the rest of their clansmen where bagabo only collect taxes for the Bagwabiro. However, there seems to be a tendency to blot out the difference between Bagwabiro and tax collectors (clan elders) and to make serfs of the clan members, as is already the case with the Bambari.

In Nduga the population on the various hills is very mixed. It belongs to different clans. Most of the land belongs to the chiefs (the large landowners), and only occasionally do we find ngabo (fighting farmers) who are exempt from compulsory service (buletwa), that is to say, who live on their own land (granted to them by the king).

In this way clan organization in Ruanda is broken up by the rule of the herdsmen and the resultant development of a peasant aristocracy. The factors that remain to uphold clan organization are the food taboos, exogamy, and blood revenge.

The effect of royal power on the homogeneous clans has resulted in the differentiation of the population.

In Urundi the tendency towards centralized state organization [266] does not seem to have made much progress as yet. Here there are still feudal masters who are unrestricted rulers of entire provinces, while in Ruanda the chiefs have nowhere near the same independence on their lands. Here too, however, the land is regarded as the king's property.

635 Political Organization. Ruanda consists of a number of provinces with geographic names but without administrative units. We have already mentioned Nduga, Mukinjaga, Bugessera, Bugoye, Bwischascha, Mulera, Bgisha, Ruweruka, Ndorwa, and Kissaka.

The individual provinces have no central administration and
634 no governor. The provinces are divided into a number of communities, most of which are assigned to clients staying at the

651 and not infrequently open battles whenever collection takes place.
661 On the way to Mulera, at Kwa Rutagungira, I saw several wounded Batutsi who had to pay for their zeal as officials with holes in their hides. The business efficiency of the tax collectors is well characterized if we note their habit of substituting some of their poorer stock for the better cows that are delivered as the king's taxes. In view of its chronic character, this misuse and plunder must be regarded as a form of official remuneration.

651 We must emphasize the fact that in Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are linked to the community, the people, and not to the land they cultivate. That is why the outsider who has settled on alien soil with the approval of the residents does not participate in community taxes. He continues to pay the taxes of his own clan, and only if he is adopted by the resident clan does he pay taxes where he has settled.

651 This principle of family tax becomes complicated the mo-
178 ment pacification makes possible the disruption of clans which under the most primitive conditions have been held together by blood revenge. I saw the consequences of this complication of social conditions in Mulera in the form of a punitive expedition which reduced to ashes the settlement on Mount Kisseke. A few outsiders had bought with gifts permission to settle on Kisseke from the established residents. A few weeks after they were settled, some Batutsi arrived who had the right to collect taxes from the community of new settlers but who were complete strangers to the old established population. The new settlers
[687] promised the old ones a bull, and the latter drove off the Batutsi with weapons, killing a few and wounding several. A punitive expedition of government troops, undertaken because of Musinga's complaint, was the sequel.

651 The ferry toll is a special tax that affects traders particularly.
491 It is collected by batware who are stationed at the ferries and whose people run the boats. The toll is very high. For a traveler with his pack, it is ten large beads, that is to say, a third of a day's wages. Twenty men with a herd of goats paid a piece of cloth (nguo).

[275] The batware who collect the ferry toll must also keep watch over the traffic. At the border ferries, for example, on

721 Declarations of war are not made, at least not in Mulera. If a military expedition is to be undertaken, everyone knows about it long beforehand. It is hard to keep a secret. The actual declaration of war is the sound of the antelope horn calling the warriors together.

729 Baumann (1) mentions that spades wrapped with leaves are

1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 84.

a sign of peace.

[277] Chapter 13

Administration of Justice

671 Law. Ruanda has no codified laws. The administration of justice is the business of the government which takes into consideration long-established customs. This is the only kind of law one can speak of in Ruanda.

Criminal law is not developed here to such an extent that the various types of crimes must be atoned for with specific punishments. We can only indicate approximately the severity of individual punishment, since uncodified law leaves so much to the personal opinion of the judge.

628 178 The basis of justice within the clan is the institution of blood revenge. With the development of the state, this is gradually being pushed into the background, but in Ruanda the process is still in its initial stages. In Kissaka, on the other hand, it is said that before revenge is taken, the chief is notified, and he can forbid taking vengeance for a man killed for robbery.

682 685 Aside from murder, which in Ruanda proper is still punished with blood revenge, the theft of cows is very severely punished, in accordance with the role the cow has in the life of Ruanda.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge, but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who told them whether they were going to bear children and took auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated over the country. There was no rule against naming the king after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other times. One cow was killed when the king died.

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

An instance which shows a number of these possibilities comes from the court book of Bugufi, a chiefdom in the north-west of Tanganyika Territory. A custom which might or might not be noted by the ethnographer—something must escape the most meticulous of observers, and this one is not recorded by Meyer for the Barundi, of whom the people of Bugufi are ethnologically part—is the right of the chief to pasture his cattle among the millet-stalks after the harvest, before the peasant may put in his own cattle or any which he is herding for some one else. The court book records eight peasants coming to court to complain against a Tusi who has driven off their cattle. The Tusi replies that the men had pastured their cattle in their millet before the chief had had access. Asked by the court whether he was instructed to drive off the cattle, the Tusi replies that he acted as he was bound to do in accordance with ancient custom and his obligations to the chief. New concepts have, however, found their way into the court, which gives judgement for the plaintiffs on the grounds that the land and the cattle were theirs. This case is exceptional in the wealth of statement and suggestion which it offers, but there are many others helpful in lesser degree.

The value of native court records in this way was brought home to me while stationed in this area, Bugufi, during the years 1929–31, when I went through the available material with a view to seeing what were the normal causes of litigation and getting a general idea of the law administered. Starting with the year 1924, the series was examined up to the end of 1930. For these seven years, 850 cases were found where judgement issued, there being a further 225 which had been settled out of court or dismissed for want of prosecution or by reason of limitation. Of these 850 cases, almost one-quarter concerned contracts where cattle were involved, nearly one-sixth were marital cases, and another sixth were over administrative matters, including offences against the Native Authority Ordinance: only one-seventh were of offences against person and property, and the remainder concerned debts, land, inheritance, damage to property and a few miscellaneous matters.

The fullest records were those of the numerous marital cases, and these have been fully collated with a view to giving an idea of how much information can be gleaned and what gaps remain, and what

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

CHAPTER II

THE SYSTEM OF KINSHIP AND AFFINITY[1]

I. DESCENT GROUPS

AMONG the Ruanda people, Tutsi as well as Hutu, the social principle of descent was agnatic. When any informant is asked who are his ascendants, he always answers by giving the names of his father, his paternal grandfather, his paternal great grandfather up to some male ancestor beyond whom he is unable to go. He does not mention his mother nor any of her ascendants.

Questions on the actual groupings founded on this principle and their functions elicit less unanimous and clear answers. The reason is that kinship groups have undoubtedly undergone a slow process of change in several respects during the Tutsi occupation of the country. What we know of its history[2] is quite sufficient to convince us that there has been a progressive territorial expansion under one dynasty of rulers together with an intensification of the

[1] In order to make clear the connotations of the main concepts used in this chapter, here are a few definitions:

Ego's *kin* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through parent-child and-or sibling links. *Consanguineal* and *cognatic* relatives are used as synonyms for kin.

Ego's *affines* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through a marriage link. This link may be the first traced from Ego (the affines are then Ego's spouse's kin) or the kinship link may be the first one traced (the affines are then Ego's kin's spouse).

Ego's *patrilineal* or *agnatic* relatives are those of his kin who descend by male links from the same male ancestor as Ego.

Ego's *matrilineal* or *uterine* relatives are those of his kin who descend by female links from the same ancestress as Ego.

Ego's *cross-line* relatives are those of his kin who are neither patrilineally nor matrilineally related to him.

Ego's *paternal* or *patrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his father.

Ego's *maternal* or *matrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his mother.

To sum up:

- Relatives are *kin* (or consanguineal relatives or cognates) who can be distinguished as
  - 1. patrilineal (or agnatic)
  - 2. matrilineal (or uterine)
  - 3. cross-line
- Relatives are *kin* (or consanguineal relatives or cognates) who can be distinguished as ... of as
  - 1. paternal (or patrilateral)
  - 2. maternal (or matrilateral)
- Relatives and *affines* who can be distinguished as
  - 1. kin of Ego's spouse
  - 2. spouses of Ego's kin.

[2] See for instances, Pagès, 1933.

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degrees of control exerted by that central authority on the territory. These processes have necessarily had an impact on the autonomy and social significance of Hutu and Tutsi kinship groups, on their connexion with a particular tract of land, and on their functions. We shall not be concerned here with any reconstruction of these processes but only with them as they existed in the immediate pre-European days. It should be borne in mind, however, that this was the period of an evolution. This explains the sometimes confused picture given by some informants.

(*a*) *Inzu, ubwoko, umulyango*

Hutu and Tutsi recognized a patrilineal kin group (*inzu*)[3] which included all who could actually trace their agnatic relationship through usually no more than four or five ascendent genealogical links to an ancestor recognized as the original ancestor of the group.

Members of the inzu of a male Ego were: Br, Si, Fa, FaSi, FaBr, FaBrSo, FaBrDa, FaFa, FaFaBr, FaFaSi, FaFaBrSo, FaFaBrDa, FaFaBrSoSo, FaFaBrSoDa.[4]

Ego's sororal nephews and nieces (SiSo, SiDa) and his paternal cross-cousins (FaSiSo and FaSiDa) did not belong to his *inzu*. However they participated in some of its activities if they lived with their maternal uncle (Ego), which happened when the bride-wealth for their mother (Ego's Si) had not been entirely paid.

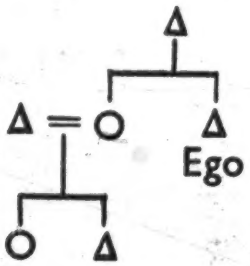

Diagram A.

Other generations above Ego's (that of FaFaFa, &c.) or under his (that of SoSoSo, &c.), were not necessarily included in Ego's

[3] *Inzu* means also hut.
[4] I follow the symbolization system used by Murdock, 1949.

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of coercion at their disposal. If a mwami attempted to go beyond his effective power even without exceeding the limits of his divine rights, he exposed himself to the chance of meeting some obstacles. Nevertheless, he had sovereign as well as divine rights and his subjects were constantly reminded of these by the tributes they had to pay.

4. DESCRIPTION OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

Every Ruanda, Twa, Hutu as well as Tutsi, was affiliated to an army (*ingabo*). This is stated by ninety-nine per cent. of our informants. Although this military organization is obsolete at the present day—indeed it no longer exists—ninety-eight per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed can still give the name of the army of their paternal ascendants.

There were several armies. The name of each one had a military meaning. It was a challenge, a boast, the memory of a dynastic or historical event: for instance 'the tough ones' (*abashakamba*), 'the first to be praised' (*imbanzamihigo*), 'the fearless ones' (*inzirabwoba*), &c. At the beginning of each reign a new army was organized by the king. Moreover, a very important chief could be authorized by the mwami to raise an army.

(*a*) *Recruitment*

An army was recruited in the following way. The mwami asked his Tutsi clients to bring to the court their sons who had not yet had any military training. When about 150 to 200 young men were gathered, they constituted what we may call a company (*itorero*). During the reign, four or five companies were recruited in the same way and were added to the first one. According to ninety-six per cent. of our informants a man had to stay all his life in the company he had first entered. The young men (*intore*, the chosen ones) lived at the court of the king or of the chief who had been allowed to recruit an army. Under the direction of an officer called the chief of the king's residence (*umutware w'urugo rw'umwami*) or of its counterpart at a chief's court, they were trained for several years in military skills such as bow and arrow shooting, the use of the sword, spear, and javelin. They learned warlike dances, and to memorize and to recite the poems in which the high deeds of extraordinary bravery and boldness of the past warriors were exalted.[18] They were also taught how to compose poems in imitation of these great models.

[18] See Kagame, 1949b; 1951.

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The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life. Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per cent. can define *impotore* as the distinction granted to those who had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember that *gucana uruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition. This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does not organize raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects, became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other functions of the armies were felt to be very important.

701 703 193 [178] [182]

(*b*) *Socialization*

Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'enculturalizing'[80] the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities, values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of their own culture. 121

In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noblemen, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military 86 868 000

[80] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 33 ff.

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when the client was Hutu and *ingabane* when he was Tutsi. A *garagu* could have cows from another source (called *imbata*) such as those received as bride-wealth, as a reward for bravery or acquired by exchanging other goods. In the case of a Hutu client, who possessed both *inkazibiti* and *imbata* at the time when his relation with a *shebuja* was broken off, there are two opinions with regard to the cows' ownership. According to the first, the *imbata* possessed by the client before he entered in the *buhake* relation were regarded as *inkazibiti* and consequently the lord had the same rights over them as over those he had given to the client as cows of *buhake*. Moreover, the cows which the client eventually acquired when he was already *garagu*, and which in other circumstances would have been regarded as *imbata*, were also added to the cows received from the lord. The result was that at the breaking off of the *buhake* relation, the patron could take all his client's cows, *imbata* as well as *inkazibiti*. The other opinion is that the *imbata* acquired by the client before or after the *buhake* relation began, remained definitely *imbata* and that the lord had no claim on them.

It seems that both opinions are accurate, but that they refer to different periods. The second probably expresses the most ancient rule which had been prevalent up to about 1920. The practice of merging *imbata* and *inkazibiti* (or *ingabane*) in favour of the lord is likely to have been introduced only during the last forty years. This would be due to the fact that the chiefs of the administrative divisions (recognized by the Belgian authority under the names of *chefferies* and *sous-chefferies*) assumed at the end of the reign of king Yuhi Musinga (who was dismissed from his royal charge by the Belgian Administration in 1931) an undue importance, because their powers were no longer counterbalanced by those of the chiefs of the other hierarchies. Army chiefs did not enjoy their former authority, as the military structure had received no official recognition; Musinga, isolated in an attitude of indifference and hostility towards Europeans, was left without much effective power. Administrative chiefs who were important lords are said to have taken advantage of this situation, and to have modified the custom to their own advantage by establishing the principle of the merging of the cows received from the lord with those acquired independently of any *shebuja*.

It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Tutsi, who themselves were patrons of still less important Tutsi, and so on. In this way the Tutsi consituted a homogeneous unit of individuals linked to one another by bonds of fidelity and protection. From that point of view, *buhake* contributed to the unity and the solidarity of the aristocratic caste.

(*e*) *Maintenance of caste privileges*

Besides the protection of socially weak individuals and the promotion of social cohesion, a third function was fulfilled by the feudal system: the maintenance of the social *status quo* and the perpetuation of Tutsi privileges. This function seems somewhat opposed to the first two. Let us see how all these functions have been combined by the *buhake* system.

In a stratified society where control of a category of goods or a type of ownership is characteristic of the superior layer, the access of the members of other groups to these goods or to the particular rights of ownership constitutes an active factor of social mobility. It is the reason why the aristocracy frequently keeps exclusively for itself these goods and these rights. Thus in Ankole the Hima pastoralists bar Iru cultivators from the ownership of productive cows. They may possess only barren cows and bull calves.[8]

Ruanda Tutsi did not impose such severe rules but by the *buhake* system they obtained very much the same results. They allowed Hutu to have cattle at their disposal—which in exchange provided Tutsi with labour and agricultural produce—but at the same time prevented them from gaining independent ownership rights over these cattle. Those who had the final control of cattle were always Tutsi. As the Hutu had been granted only usufruct rights over cattle which were different from those enjoyed by the lords who were Tutsi, there was no chance that the group of cattle owners could be invaded by Hutu.

By definition the client's possession was precarious. This uncertainty in the duration of the disposal of cattle was further emphasized by the circumstances mentioned above. The breaking off of the *buhake* relation was almost always favourable mainly to the lord and could often be disastrous for the client. It may even be said that when the practice of merging the *buhake* cows (*inkazibiti*) with the cows not received from a lord (*imbata*) was regarded as customary, all the Hutu cattle were precariously held and under

[8] Oberg, 1940, p. 130.

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Tutsi control. A Hutu who in exchange for labour or agricultural goods had been able to acquire a few cows had necessarily to ask for the protection of a lord in order that his cows should not be seized upon under some pretence by a socially powerful neighbour. Then he received cows from his lord and they were merged with his own *imbata*. Consequently, if the agreement had to be ended, the lord could take away besides the cows he had granted, those which had previously belonged to the client.

The two political structures benefited most those among the Tutsi who were rulers. The feudal structure, by granting only a precarious possession of cattle to the clients, left in the hands of the Tutsi the ultimate control of cattle, symbol of social prestige and instrument of power. On the other hand, by the same *buhake*, Tutsi were obtaining the advantages of being provided with labour and agricultural produce. From that standpoint, the Ruanda feudal system granted a minority the means to live—and to live better than the bulk of the population—without having to participate in the manual labour of economic production, by the moderate and clever exploitation of the majority.

In order that an aristocratic structure may perpetuate itself without change as long as it is profitable to the superior caste, it is not sufficient to prevent an invasion or even an infiltration of members of inferior groups who, by modifying the proportion between exploiters and exploited, would completely disturb the smooth working of the system. It is also necessary that all those who are by birth members of the upper caste should live according to the standards of their group. It is most unusual for an upper caste to regard the falling off of some of its members without uneasiness and dismay. This is particularly true when the group position of power is rationalized in terms of innate superiority. Some modern governments in Africa, for example, are much concerned about the 'poor whites' because their decadence threatens the myth of the white racial superiority.

The Tutsi had a similar pretence to a natural superiority as has been pointed out already. Consequently, if one of them was unable to support himself in a way becoming to his caste and seemed on the point of slipping down into the group of those who work manually, it was regarded as a shocking situation that should at once be put right. The remedy was to become the client of a richer Tutsi. The cows thus received, allowed him to subsist in

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CHAPTER VII

THE PROBLEM OF TUTSI DOMINATION

At the beginning of this century, after an historical development of which we can at the most have only a glimpse, Ruanda society appeared to be composed of two main strata, the Hutu and Tutsi castes. The latter was dominant in social power and used it to exploit economically the former and to retain political power exclusively.

This system of the social domination of a caste and of the political domination of a group within that caste seemed to be successful and stable at the beginning of the twentieth century. How did the Tutsi achieve the difficult task of keeping such a large caste kingdom a working concern? Before considering the social structural factors which were operative one must take into account the frame in which and the background against which the problem of domination had to be solved. By frame and background, is understood here the totality of circumstances which appeared to the Tutsi, and were for them, unalterable. Tutsi had to adapt their pattern of domination to these circumstances as they were in any event beyond their control. These circumstances were very numerous, pertaining to physical environment (ecological), to human biology, and even to the culture of the group. What these very various elements had in common was that, at the time referred to in this study, they set limits to the action and ways of life of the group. Some of these limits were not immutable in themselves but they were so none the less for the Tutsi at the beginning of the twentieth century.

From this vast congeries of natural, biological, and cultural factors, I shall review only a few which appear most significant from the present point of view: that of the conditions of domination.

1. FRAME AND BACKGROUND OF THE DOMINATION SYSTEM

A first relevant background fact was that, apart from the ultimate control of a most valuable resource, namely, cattle (a subject which will be discussed later), the difference between the equipment of Tutsi and Hutu was not very considerable. It is

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possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds, they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer, and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.

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One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organization had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics,

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it is certain that there were (and still are) Tutsi and Hutu physical stereotypes socially recognized. Such characteristics regarded as significant were, for the Tutsi, to be slender, tall, and light skinned; for the Hutu, to be short and stout with coarse features. To conform to one of these types was not sufficient to make of a man a Tutsi or a Hutu. Indeed there were some Tutsi and Hutu who did not possess the physical characteristics of their caste.

Sociological and psychological studies devoted to racial problems, and particularly to anti-semitism, have stressed the importance of the physical stereotypes of groups. It is immaterial whether the stereotypes are verified in the majority of cases, or only quite rarely. What *is* important is that they provide a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallized and form a simple picture. This picture, haunting the imagination of those it is supposed to represent as well as of the others, makes everyone extremely conscious of his group participation and of the differences that separate his group from the others.

The fact that a group is characterized by a physical type differentiating it from the others is a factor which may act both ways from the standpoint of social and political power. A minority endowed with a stereotyped physical appearance will have a very great social visibility. If that minority is at the bottom of the hierarchy, its members are constantly despised, and develop attitudes characteristic of those who are looked down on by those with whom they have to live. Consequently, they are hopelessly confined to their group and enjoy almost no opportunity to increase their power. This was the case of the Twa. Their physical stereotype stressed all the features which could be interpreted as ape-like.

If, on the contrary, that physically stereotyped minority is at the top of the power structure, it avails itself of its appearance, regarded as 'beautiful', to support its claims to an innate superiority. Consequently, it is an asset to its power.

Tutsi have been able to use the three different stereotypes of the physical characteristics of the Ruanda castes as a confirmation of their superiority: they have convinced all Ruanda that to be slender and light skinned is much better than to be stout and dark (this was even aesthetically translated in the patterns used in the ornamentations of baskets: they manifested a preference for elongated slim forms). They used the stereotypes also as a proof

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of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

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ceremonies. We may say that clan, army, and sect were 'national' only nominally and superficially. Notwithstanding, these associations between Hutu and Tutsi had probably some limited significance from the standpoint of social cohesion.

In that connexion, *buhake* is a much more important factor. By that agreement, almost any Hutu was linked to a Tutsi, and partook in the social power of the upper caste by identifying himself with a protector who was a member of the dominant group. He obtained for his disposal some cattle, the symbol of artistic values, and he entered into exchange relationships with the nobility. Through the clientage institution, Ruanda constituted a unified economic system which distributed agricultural and pastoral products among the totality of the population. The personal bond with a privileged caste member and access to possession, however precarious, of cattle, seem to have been essential from the point of view of national solidarity.

A third integrative factor was social mobility, even as limited as it was in Ruanda. It is certain that the number of Hutu and Twa assimilated to Tutsi because of their holding of political offices or because of their wealth, has always been tiny.

The possibility of being accepted into the superior group even if it is illusory for almost all the members of the inferior group has had in many societies a very great integrative influence. It is well known that in the United States, during the first quarter of this century, the fact that a few men among the wealthiest of the country had been born poor, greatly contributed to the psychological solace of a considerable mass of men and women who had personally no opportunity to achieve such brilliant successes. In addition to individual comfort, the belief that there was no intrinsically insuperable obstacle (such as having been born outside a closed hereditary group) helped Americans to feel that they were all members of the same nation regarded as not significantly stratified.

I do not imply that the social ascent of a few Hutu has played a similar part in Ruanda. Firstly, there was no egalitarian ideology which makes almost unbearable the fact that one is obliged by birth to live in an inferior social group; secondly, cases of inter-caste mobility were extremely rare in Ruanda. Nevertheless, these cases were a proof for Hutu that, although not belonging to the upper stratum, they were members of the Ruanda nation as well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

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642 178 At the beginning of this century, Ruanda political organization was an instrument of social immobility. It was not a force of expansion meant to increase the Tutsi dominion over the country, but a machinery which succeeded in maintaining a difficult equilibrium between the antinomic tendencies I have reviewed. Any institution in which divergent tendencies meet and are kept balanced bears in itself the principle of its own disintegration. But in Ruanda the equilibrium problem had been so efficiently solved that it seems that an optimum point had been reached. The political organization that sustained the domination system could have been perpetuated as long as forces external and internal to the system itself remained constant. The external influence which modified the political organization has been the contact with the [648] Europeans, another conquest group entering Ruanda history around 1900. But apart from such a consequential event, internal phenomena such as a modification in the demographic ratio, the introduction of new agricultural techniques, the impoverishment of the soil, &c., could have been sufficient to destroy the equilibrium maintained by the Tutsi political organization.

642 178 564 661 What was 'immobilized' by the political organization was the Tutsi's caste's and rulers' almost exclusive control of power. They used it for exploitation, by which is meant here the satisfaction of needs not by economic production but by pressure. I follow here closely Oppenheimer's distinction between economic and political means. Both have the same end, he writes, the satisfaction of needs. But when this end is obtained by one's labour and the equivalent exchange of one's own labour for the labour of others, one may speak of 'economic means' while the unrequited appropriation of the labour of others is 'political means'.[6] This should, however, be qualified in the *buhake* where the client received the usufruct of cattle.

642 564 571 It would, of course, be completely misleading to assume that Ruanda political organization had for its only function the preservation of Tutsi exploitation. Through the political structure, as has been shown, the inferior castes enjoyed security. Collectively, peasants were protected against raiding expeditions of neighbours and against an unlimited and too arbitrary exploitation. Individually, in the difficult or dangerous events of life, a Hutu could rely upon the protection of his lord, of his army-chief, and

[6] Oppenheimer, 1922, p. 25.

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point of agreeing with all his opinions, a similar attitude tends to spread to other fields. Each time there is a conflict between what is useful to the speaker or expected from him and what he thinks, he is apt to say rather what is useful or expected.

Thus a dependent attitude in hierarchical relationships favours the extension to all social relations of a utilitarian usage of language.

5. ORIGIN OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

We have read the premise, as it were, into the Ruanda political and feudal organization. But this does not solve the question of their mutual priority. Had the political organization of Ruanda, as it existed at the beginning of this century, been built in order to express a belief deeply buried in the psyche of those who have slowly formed and shaped it? Or, on the contrary, is it that the premise of inequality and its sequels have been evolved from the political organization as an ideology and a set of attitudes which fitted the political situation well?

To raise such a question is certainly legitimate in the sense that it expresses a genuine problem which, if it could be solved, would add significantly to our knowledge of the working of social systems and of cultural premises. But there are certain facts crucial to the solution of that question that we are not likely ever to know, such as a good knowledge of the Tutsi culture and its premises before the pastoralists reached Ruanda. It seems possible, however, to make some comments on this problem.

Tutsi came into Ruanda as conquerors. Even if their arrival into the country inhabited by Hutu looked rather like a peaceful infiltration, it was nevertheless a conquest. They wanted to settle in the country and they built a permanent system of economic and political relations with the Hutu whereby they established themselves definitely as masters and exploiters. That is to say, a caste society evolved from their will to stabilize the conquest situation with all its advantages. Now, the more obvious rationalization of a caste structure is the belief that there are inborn and fundamental differences between the members of different castes.

This is not meant to be a schematic view of the historical origin of the Ruanda inequality premise. It is possible that Tutsi had previously to their arrival in Ruanda such a belief, perhaps already embodied in their social organization, or in their external relations with surrounding peoples, and that quite naturally they

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shaped the new Ruanda situation according to their ideology. Again, it is possible that some themes and types of organization of the Hutu cultivators were particularly capable of being used in the formation of the Ruanda ethos as I have described it. But a conquest evolving into a caste structure is sufficient to account for an inegalitarian premise. Even if prior to the conquest each of the two groups concerned has an egalitarian ideology, the establishment of hereditary groups, whereby the status of vanquishers and vanquished is perpetuated, suffices to give birth to a theory of inequality.

I am of the opinion that such a theory is a necessary 'superstructure' (in the Marxist sense) of a caste system. Undoubtedly, a body of inheritance laws, opportunities for a certain kind of education restricted to the wealthiest, a difference in languages, &c., may maintain for some time a high social power in the hands of the conquerors' descendents, even if the cultural ideology is that all men are born equal. But such a lack of internal coherence ('all men are born equal' versus 'political and economic power is restricted to those who are descendants of the conquerors') is very likely to result rapidly in an evolution from a caste system to a class society. A 'racial' theory seems the only ideology perfectly consistent with a caste structure. It is very probable that conquerors adopt it not only for consistency's sake, but because it is more efficient, more easily understood and accepted, particularly when different physical traits are characteristic of each caste.

It should be understood that when we speak of 'the adoption of an ideology by the conquerors', it is not meant that one day the conquerors made a conscious choice among various possible ideologies. Rather, once a caste system operates, the patterns of political domination and of economic exploitation require people to behave as if the upper caste members were by nature different from that of the lower caste members. When the 'idea behind' these behaviours is made more or less explicit, as in tales and proverbs, it is rationalized in terms of fundamental and inborn inequality.

If there is such a necessary link between caste systems and the premise of inequality, then to know whether the conqueror's ideology, prior to the conquest, was egalitarian or not is only an historical question; when the vanquisher settles and establishes a caste system, the inegalitarian ideology is produced, as its corollary.

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

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593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
776 by *Imana*.

564 The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
583 expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight
[556] hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[178] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
585 above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

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[9]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954.

[8]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights.

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi.

[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred.

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society.

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups.

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.*

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste.

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956.

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three.

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer.

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light.

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help.

[16]It has been suggested that anaemia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy.

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system.

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